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NEW ZEALAND
AND THE
NEW ZEALAND COMPANY

BEING
A CONSIDERATION OF HOW FAR THEIR INTERESTS
ARE SIMILAR.

In answer to a Pamphlet
ENTITLED
HOW TO COLONIZE:
THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE DUTY
GOVERNMENT.

BY
THEOPHILUS HEALE, Esq.

LONDON:
SHERWOOD, GILBERT, AND PIPER
23, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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P R E F A C E.

THE appearance of this little work, in opposition to such a mass of talent, rank, and power, as is arrayed against it on the other side,—written as it is by one so insignificant and so little known as myself, may need some apology and explanation.

The circumstances which have called it forth, and made it almost my duty, humble as I am, to record my opinion, and to promulgate what little knowledge I possess on the subject, are simply these :—

Little more than two years has elapsed since the formation of the New Zealand Company. They were then but an association of gentlemen, unincorporated by charter, and with apparently very little chance of ever being so. They proceeded, in the face of the declared hostility of Government, in spite of continued and vigorous attacks from the leading

periodicals, and in the very teeth of deeply-rooted prejudices of the public, to send out preparatory expeditions, to collect and publish information, and finally to commence colonization by sending out emigrants, with a spirit and perseverance which would have been beyond all praise, had it not, in conjunction with certain political reasons, driven them into precipitate and rash measures, which are irretrievable, and which must for years inflict grievous injury on the colony.

The colony was sent out. We arrived ten days after the surveying staff, and three months after the first expedition, which had to fix upon the site for the colony, and to purchase it from the natives. There was no time then to explore; the emigrants were on the spot, and could not wait to find out advantages or disadvantages of situation. A location was immediately necessary. And it was fixed at Port Nicholson. At that place, then, the Company irrevocably fixed* their principal settlement: at it they are pledged to form their capital; and by it they must stand or fall.

The capabilities of this place for the site of the capital of New Zealand, are very nearly analogous to those of Holyhead, for that of Great Britain. Like it, it is at the extremity of a promontory, and is the most central place *as regards the two islands*: in

other respects, though there is still a resemblance, Holyhead has rather the advantage of the two in the comparison. The vast mountains rising almost perpendicularly on each side of the little valley of Port Nicholson, and extending, like a miniature Andes, to which in formation they are remarkably similar, for 200 miles to the N.E., preclude the possibility of internal communication; while the rush of wind through Cook's Strait, makes its access by sea difficult and tedious.

The outlet of no agricultural district, without a river within 100 miles, and without any of the valuable timber of New Zealand, the kowri; though its limited fertile lands are densely wooded; and enclosed in a continual storm, the only advantage this place seems to possess, is, that it is as far from the South Cape as from the North. On this one circumstance the Company ground their claim to the site of the capital.

Bitter was the disappointment of the first settlers, when they looked upon the steep and barren hills which surrounded them: they knew not then that these forbidding features were peculiar to that spot only; and when the refusal of Sir George Gipps to recognize their titles to land became known, a re-emigration to South America was actually proposed and planned, and that not by a wild visionary, with all to gain and

nothing to lose, but by one who was placed by the Company in the very first class of their settlers, to which he was entitled by rank, property, enterprise and intelligence.*

So went their affairs in New Zealand. In England, at that time, they were going even worse. Their acts were declared illegal; the validity of the purchase of their land from the natives was thrown into doubt, and Lord Normanby, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, refused to recognize them as a Company.—Then came a change. Lord John Russell was Colonial Minister :—the ministry became hard pushed on a division; many of their party wavered;—places, pensions, and sinecures, all were exhausted :—not a sop to be found within 10,000 miles to throw to their hungry retainers. In a week—one short week—the Company's affairs wore another aspect. They had obtained a charter—and such a charter! Well may Mr. Mangles hold up Lord John as the pattern and mirror of all Colonial Ministers! Madame de Sevigné, when recording the fact, that the king had nodded to her as he passed her window, exclaims, enthusiastically,—“Surely our Sovereign is the greatest of all Monarchs!”

The Charter, granting to the New Zealand Com-

* Mr. Molesworth, brother of Sir William; *vide* New Zealand Journal, No. 37.

pany such extraordinary and extravagant rights and privileges, was certainly a boon of richer grace and favour than any nod which was ever given from kingly brows; and if Mr. Mangles, big with the recollection of this donative, had indulged in a similar effusion of gratitude to that which gushed from the lips of the lively Frenchwoman, and declared that Lord John was the greatest of all colonial ministers, it certainly ought not to be a matter of much astonishment. Nearly 900,000 broad acres granted without a payment, and better still, without a condition!—no troublesome clauses to bind the Company to colonize their princely domain—no restrictions as to price at which they were to sell—no fixed portion of the proceeds allotted to emigration—not even a boundary placed to limit their right of choice, nor a shadow of control reserved to the Government. In short, this prince of charters made them the absolute proprietors of this vast estate, to be selected by themselves, in whatever part of the islands they might think proper, without check or controul.

Here was one step gained.—Much was gained, but it was a means, not an end. The next thing to be done was to smother any attempt at the formation of any other Colony in New Zealand, but especially on the part of the Government, and to bring about, if possible, the transfer

of the seat of Government to Port Nicholson, so as not only to increase the value of the Company's reserved land, which Mr. Mangles puts forth as the Company's natural and legitimate object, but also to put an end to all fear of a rival, and to secure to them their darling object, the monopoly of the Colony. For this end, not only were their periodicals filled with exaggerated description of their settlements, and with accounts of the other parts of the Islands,—especially of Auckland, which the Governor had selected, after mature consideration and examination, for the site of the capital—so absurdly falsified as to carry a doubt of their truth even on the face of them ; but they went on to impugn the capacity, common sense, and even the *honesty* of the Governor and his officers, for not having at once removed with his establishment to Port Nicholson.

For a long time, they fought for the immediate removal of the seat of Government, and they might have won the victory, had their patron still remained the umpire. Happily for the colonies and for the country, his race was run ; and Lord John Russell was replaced by one who not being compelled to purchase a few votes at the expence of a colony, cannot be bullied, and will not be deceived.

I trust, then, that all fear of this has now passed away. But on one point the Company have been but too

fortunate. They have succeeded in almost identifying themselves with New Zealand in the public eye;—the unsparing use of every species of puff, direct or indirect, public dinners, fêtes, advertisements of colonial cadetships, party periodicals,—a continual supply of letters from colonists, accounts of their settlements by their settlers, honourable or otherwise,—but all interested,—and pamphlets, have taught the public to think of New Zealand only through the medium of the New Zealand Company. They claim to be the sole agent for the colonization of that splendid country; and, to put their position beyond doubt, a pamphlet is sent forth, backed by the name of one of the most talented and influential of their Directors, for the purpose of inducing the Government to make them so ostensibly, as they actually are in fact—and to let whatever portion might be directed to New Zealand of the extended emigration, which it is understood is to be set on foot—go thither through their hands and under their direction.

Convinced, as I am, of the ruin that would be brought on the colony by transferring its metropolis to so irredeemably bad a site as Port Nicholson, and that were the Company to be made the agent for the colonization of the island, that transfer would immediately follow, I think that I am bound to point out as far

as in me is, the inexpediency of such a course ; not that I can expect to cope with a writer of Mr. Mangles' talent and acquirements, backed as he is by others, many his equals, and all superior to me ; but, feeling that if I only aid in disseminating the knowledge, that *there are other settlements in New Zealand besides those of the Company*, and that *some at least* think them in every respect superior to those of the Company, I shall have gained my end ; and should I be the means of encouraging others of greater capacity, to take up this interesting subject on my beginning, I shall consider that I have by no means written in vain.

NEW ZEALAND,

&c. &c.

THE circumstances of the country and of its colonies have at last forced upon the minds of the public, the imperative necessity of emigration on a far more extended scale, and more regular system than has hitherto been practised, and several works have recently appeared on the subject, pointing out various fields for emigration, and offering suggestions as to the best means to be adopted for their colonization. Amongst them is one entitled "How to Colonize, the Interest of the Country, and the Duty of Government," by Mr. Ross Mangles, M.P., and a Director of the New Zealand Company.

Notwithstanding the extent and generality of the title of this work,* it treats, not of Colonization in general, but only refers to New Zealand, and its object is to show that the interests of the New Zealand Company are identical with those of the colony; that the Company alone is able to efficiently and speedily colonize it, and therefore that it is the duty of the Government to make over to it the whole colonization of that magnificent country, and to acquiesce in their choice, or rather succumb to their dictation, by making their principal settlement, Port Nicholson, the site of the capital.

* "How to Colonize : The Interest of the Country and the Duty of Government. By Ross D. Mangles, Esq., M.P." London : Smith, Elder and Co. 1842.

It is far from my intention to impute to Mr. Mangles any unworthy motives in coming forward on the present occasion, or to accuse him of being actuated, as a Proprietor and Director of the New Zealand Company, by motives rather of private advantage than public spirit. I have no doubt he looks with an eye of sincere pity upon the distress which prevails so largely amongst his fellow-countrymen, and conscientiously believes that it may be very materially mitigated by an extensive system of emigration conducted upon proper principles, and that New Zealand is one of the best fields for that emigration.

In this feeling and conviction I fully concur, as also in several of the general principles of colonization he lays down; but feeling that the main position he takes up,—namely, that the interests of the New Zealand Company are identical with those of the colony, and that the greatest advantage would accrue to the country if that Company received the sanction and confidence of the Government, and were made their agent for the colonization of the country,—is a position that can by no means be made good; and seeing that Mr. Mangles' work, supported as it is by the authority of a name alike respectable for character and the position he holds—is calculated not alone to foster and increase some prevailing errors with respect to New Zealand, and the most adviseable system for its colonization, but also still farther to promote misapprehension in reference to questions of importance yet at issue;—perceiving that he has proceeded upon information which I know to be in great part defective, unfounded in fact, or tinged with wilful misrepresentation; observing that in many instances his reasoning is erroneous, and that the conclusions he would fain deduce are in no sort authorized by the premises he lays down;—convinced that whatever may be the objects professedly in view, the real tendency of the work as a whole is to establish the monopoly

of the New Zealand Company, and to spread abroad the sphere of its operations to the great embarrassment of the Government, the restriction of its rights and dignity, and to the irremediable injury of the colony of New Zealand, by directing the stream of emigration into their settlement only, which I maintain to be the least eligible channel, and impeding and delaying for an indefinite length of time the colonization of the islands,—I feel it a duty not to remain silent; and this the more especially when I observe the liberality with which Mr. Mangles courts discussion upon the statements he makes, the arguments he advances, and the doctrines he supports, and the candour with which he professes his readiness to hear what can be urged by others, and to hold his own impressions as subject to modification or reform upon the production of better information than he at present possesses, or upon the conviction of error being brought home to his mind; and when I recollect that my long and anxious personal observations throughout the colony—the course of my studies and pursuits for several years, and in some particulars my professional experience as a sailor, have given me advantages in the task I propose to myself, that cannot be common with me to many in this country, and which I trust may divest my attempt of that appearance of presumption which it would otherwise wear in an individual so humble and so little known as myself.

Great weight—probably undue weight—has been attached by the public press to all the statements, whether of fact or private opinion, of hearsay or conjecture contained in the Honourable Mr. Petre's work, because that gentleman has declared, that he is only a sojourner here at present, and is preparing to return to New Zealand. Without venturing, or indeed wishing, to claim the same extent of confidence, bestowed upon Mr. Petre, who is now about to return

to a settlement, in which he had embarked his capital *before he first left England*; and in whose particular prosperity his own interests accordingly are altogether bound up, let me, at least, be allowed to challenge the credit of whatever measure of trustworthiness may be considered due to one, who is also no more than a sojourner in England—who visited New Zealand, unfettered by any previous ties or engagements—who had the whole Colony or indeed the whole world before him “where to choose”—who, not confining himself to one prescribed district, was resolved to see with his own eyes,—to be guided by his own judgment and experience, and not to be convinced by the flattering features of a map, or the theories of men in another hemisphere;—and who did therefore cautiously examine the Northern Island, with a view to the most eligible settlement,—who, after mature deliberation, has determined to cast his lot for life in that country, and is now preparing to return to the place of his deliberate choice. I may also add, that whatever prejudices I had on landing in New Zealand, were in favour of the Company’s settlements. Several of my friends and acquaintance were connected with that Institution, as proprietors or directors; consequently, in deciding in favour of another part of the Island, as the more advantageous for all purposes, to the capitalist and the labourer, I had, in addition to all the ordinary operations of choice, to redress, in the first instance, the balance of my mind. I can accordingly declare, that I consider my personal interests as identical with those of the Colony at large; and that therefore, I am not in a position to be swayed by any regard to mere local interests, or the prosperity of any one body of settlers, to the detriment of the general good.

Having said thus much of myself, and of my motives, I shall proceed to analyse Mr. Mangles’ pamphlet and to

offer some strictures and found some observations upon it. They shall be made in that spirit of courtesy and respect, of which alike as an author and a man he is so well deserving. I have said that upon the expediency of an extended emigration I cordially agree with Mr. Mangles—perhaps I even go farther than him—I think it not merely desirable but necessary. I believe it to be impossible that the present state and progression of things can continue to go on for any length of time, without shaking to their foundations all our institutions, moral, social and political. On this Mr. Mangles and I seem agreed.

Already we have thirty millions of men pent up, as it were, in two islands. This population, already enormous, is increasing at the rate of half a million annually. The means of winning bread are decreasing in the exact proportion of the increase of competition which is thus created. Want of employment in a country, utterly overstocked with inhabitants, soon grows to be synonymous with want of food. When many suffer, it becomes a famine. Now famine, like the plague, beginning with the meanest, extends gradually from class to class. This is the prospect we have before us, with all the dire consequences that lie beyond it in perspective, and this not at such a distance, that we can flatter ourselves, our eye traverses a secure space of time to contemplate it in a remote futurity. The population in its mass then, is in the condition of him who speaks in the verses of the Roman satirist—

“ *Res hodie minor est here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
Deteret exiguis aliquid.*”

Appalling as is this picture, it should be looked at steadily, so that while there is yet time, it may be determined what can best be done. Let us but extend our field of view

beyond the present time, and we shall learn to consider "the doing something" not as a matter of expediency, but a matter of necessity. But what is to be done? Thousands for whom like Umbricius there is

"Nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum!"

would, (had they the means of putting their words in act,) exclaim with him, *Cedamus patriâ!* And not they alone, but thousands of others ranging through an ascent of divers classes in pecuniary means, social station, and artistic and intellectual acquirements who feel that they cannot rise to their natural eminence,—would echo the cry if the means were but afforded. Undoubtedly, a vast and enduring measure of relief would in the first instance be afforded to the population at home by the removal, if wisely effected, of these two descriptions of people; and in the second place, by the benefits which would flow to those who remained behind from these same people when happily settled abroad.

Let us not, however, subject ourselves to disappointment by expecting too much from emigration. It is not that the relief would come or the benefits accrue to those classes of our community whose lot Mr. Mangles so pathetically bewails. If by a simple act of volition all those who desire to emigrate could carry that desire into effect, our curates would still continue to be poorly paid—there would still be "more candidates for curacies than there are curacies to fill"—the ratio of "the supply to the demand" could never be so reduced as to *compel* rectors to give higher salaries than they do at present—and this for very obvious reasons. The Commander-in-chief's list "of aspirants for permission to purchase commissions in the army, though we all know (as Mr. Mangles says,) that the military service, however honourable, is far from a profitable one, and that those who

enter upon it are often obliged to submit to many sacrifices, and to undergo great privations" would not be reduced by a dozen names—midshipmen's berths would be still sought by a crowd of suitors—places in all the public offices and all our great public and private institutions would continue to be objects of ambition to multitudes—the legal and medical professions—the scientific and literary avocations—the trades and callings of all who minister to luxury, whether of mind or body—would continue to be overstocked:—early marriages would probably not be more frequent, nor would the compulsory celibacy of the fair sex be abrogated.

Emigration cannot touch any of these things. They are, using the words in their technical sense, the differences, properties and accidents of an *old* country, and will maintain their existence in it, be it thickly or thinly populated, to the last. It is dealing unfairly with emigration to recommend it on such grounds. It is putting it on the suspicious footing of a quack medicine, which the vendor puffs as a remedy for all imaginable diseases. A Colony is not for those who cheerfully stake time and labour, and health, and life itself, in the hope of winning those magnificent prizes which the Mother Country alone can give. And so long as those prizes glitter in the distance, though attainable only by individuals amongst the thousands,—so long as self-reliance, or vanity, if you will, continue to animate the human heart, so long will all the avenues to glory, power, and honour, be thronged with competitors. No system of emigration, by offering humbler though more certain pursuits, can draw off a sufficiency of these men to produce a sensible diminution of their number.

There are, as I have already hinted, two classes of persons to whom emigration offers the highest advantages: of these one has no capital except his labour. To the multitudes

of our fellow-citizens, who are either unable to procure employment altogether, or else any adequate remuneration for it, a well-devised system of emigration offers benefits and blessings which it is impossible to over-estimate. No pomp of words can lend a lustre to the prospect of a man's being able to change his condition from privation to plenty—from despair to cheerful and trustful hope—from the abasing sense of being regarded as an object of loathing and of fear by his more fortunate brethren, to the consciousness of utility and independence and a recognized position in the social scale.

All the individuals of this class, who are removed under a wise plan of emigration, are not alone the recipients of good in their own persons, but they confer benefits in more than one way upon their country. Their absence not only tends to relieve the labouring classes from the pressure of pauper-competition for employment, but is also calculated to cause an increased demand for our manufactures, and this in the most beneficial manner to the mother country. Transplanted to a new soil, the labourer, who was at home clad in rags, and on the verge of starvation, becomes a liberal customer. It has been shown, that in the Australasian colonies, the average expenditure per head for our manufactures amounts to 12*l*. If the same persons had continued to remain in the British islands, their average consumption of goods would certainly not exceed half that sum, while they would be at the same time encumbering the labour market; but this is not all. Our own shipping is exclusively employed in conveying our manufactures to our colonists, and their produce is poured into our market almost exclusively.

To the other class of persons for whom emigration is eligible, consisting of members of the middle and upper classes of life, a colony offers prospects to some

of a brilliant, to others of a blessed nature. To all possessors of capital, descending to those whose capital is so trifling as not to be available, speaking comparatively, to any useful purpose in this country, emigration lays open vast fields of enterprize which must unfailingly be attended with a degree of success, which could bless no efforts of the individual in an old and crowded world. To the agriculturist who has not the means of availing himself of his knowledge and ability here — to the trader — the merchant, the most ample means of enriching himself and benefiting others are extended: with ordinary care and prudence, good fortune and intelligence, the only perceptible limits to these means to such gracious ends consists in the amount of capital he can employ. To the father of a family with moderate property and many children, a colony affords the means of settling his younger sons in life for less money than it would cost him to qualify them for entering on any professional or other honourable career at home. To the mere monied man who should be content to enter into no speculation, and engage in no labour beyond that of trading in the use of his capital, our colonies, at least our colonies in the southern hemisphere, present the certainty of accumulating a vast fortune in no long space of time, and of doing it with the consolatory feeling that his wealth has been derived from assisting the honest efforts of the industrious and enterprising, and not by pandering to the follies and vices of the idler and the spendthrift.

From the scarcity of specie in these colonies a capitalist, on the spot to watch times and circumstances, can get an enormous rate of interest for his money on undeniable security, and yet in the result of his operations witness the prosperity and not the ruin of the individuals with whom he has dealt, and whose necessities he has accommodated. To those

of adventurous spirit who are anxious to mingle in strange scenes, and leaving the beaten tracks of life, carve out for themselves a new road to fame and fortune, emigration to another hemisphere has many charms, and those of a character that will not easily fade away. Such are the classes of persons to whom under a sound system of procedure, emigration offers itself with a benign aspect and in an inviting form, while the mother-country gains in the increased demand for her manufactures, the employment of her shipping, the enlargement of her commerce, and the extension of her empire. Wherever a new port is occupied by a colony of her children attached to her institutions, her laws, her literature, her language, her mighty recollections, there she has a new fortress on the deep, and takes from coming ages a fresh guarantee for the sovereignty of the seas.

As to what this "sound system of proceeding" is, I am equally of accord with Mr. Mangle. It is undoubtedly the system which the Company professes to follow—the sale of the Colonial lands at a sufficient price, and the conveyance to the colony of labourers with the proceeds, or a large portion of them. This however is the limit of my concurrence, though I would not deny, while on the other hand I would not maintain Mr. Mangles' proposition, that the details of colonization can be much better carried on by private companies or associations than by any paid officials, however effective. We now come to the points on which we differ, and these embrace by far the greater part of the work, including what I conceive to be the principal objects for which that pamphlet was written.

They consist chiefly, 1st. In the inference to which the whole of Mr. Mangles' work would lead, that the system on which the New Zealand Company professes to act, and which I have already admitted to be in the theory an excellent one,

is exclusively their system—that it emanates from them and could only be practised by them.

2ndly. In the position that Mr. Mangles repeatedly lays down and endeavours to prove—that the interests of the Company are identical with those of the settler and the public at large.

3rdly. In the deduction, he would draw from them, that “the New Zealand Company is the best possible agent for the colonization of New Zealand.”

I may add, that there is a disingenuousness in Mr. Mangles continually talking of the New Zealand Company “and other similar associations,” when one of the great aims of his work is to shew that there can be no such similar association, so great is the wisdom and power, and so sacred the authority of his own, to which all the powers that Government can bestow, not already granted in the Charter, ought to be confided. It is too clear to escape notice, that these words “other similar associations,” in passages where they are not intended as mere *liberal* surplusage, are rather introduced from something like an affectation of candour and disinterestedness than from any real desire to see “associations like the New Zealand Company under the sanction and support of the Government; and having a common interest with the public avowedly and largely employed in carrying the new principles of colonization into effect.”

Having now pointed out the leading objects of the work, I trust it will not be found very difficult to refute; and to shew, moreover, that the discretion and wisdom displayed by the Company in their choice of settlements, and the whole course of their proceedings, have not been such as to recommend them to the confidence of Government or the public, or to justify their being invested with encreased powers or an enlarged sphere of action. Mr. Mangles begins the material part of

his work, after having laid down the principles of colonization on which I have already dwelt, by stating, "Upon these principles of colonization,—so modified as to accommodate them to the circumstances of an association in whose views private are necessarily combined with public objects, and the members of which seek a reasonable return for the capital, time, and labour which they have expended in establishing an intimate connexion between Great Britain and the most favoured islands of the Southern Hemisphere,—the New Zealand Company has acted and continues to act. I proceed to state in what manner the Company has practically carried out the principles in question; and to show that the position in which it is placed renders its interests entirely accordant with those of the public."

He then points out "the scheme on which the Directors have founded their second settlement, called Nelson," which, parenthetically be it observed, is only founded upon paper, no site for the colony having yet been determined upon; and whoever may have in this country purchased allotments, knows no more of the physical features of this land, than if they lay in the dominions of Prester John, with the addition of knowing that it is the interest of the Company to establish it, *not at the place most advantageous to it*, but in such a position as shall reflect most advantage on their *principal Settlement*, Port Nicholson. Now, the only novel feature that this scheme presents is the not very favourable one of a departure from the principle which the New Zealand Company professed some year or two ago of expending 75 per cent. of the purchase money in the conveyance of labour to the Colony—the amount here appropriated to that purpose being only 50 per cent. The inference however obviously is, that this is par excellence the "Company's Scheme;" and this is not left to mere inference. Mr. Mangles would fain

persuade his readers that this scheme is so new that Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, *was ignorant of its first principle*,—that the value of the land in New Zealand or elsewhere depended upon the amount of population settled upon it.

Why this same system, which Mr. Mangles is pleased to term the “Company’s System,” was in practice in Van Dieman’s Land, in South Australia, in New South Wales under the auspices of this same Sir George Gipps, (who forsooth is ignorant of its very foundation!)—years before the New Zealand Company was in existence.

The system has, it is true, been more uniform, more regular, and perhaps I may say more successful, in New Zealand than any where else, and that for a very simple reason—there were in New Zealand none of the old grants in existence, which have so much interfered with its operations in other colonies. None of the land was in the possession of individuals, so that it is in the power of the Company to fix their price without reference to any thing but the medium to be preserved, so as to combine upon the land the proper proportion of capital and labour.

Is not the very same system used at the present moment in the sale of the crown lands in New South Wales?—are they not all sold at a price at least equally high in proportion to quality, as the New Zealand Company, and a portion of the proceeds applied to Emigration?—True, the proportions are different;—in the Company’s scheme the speculators take the lion’s share, but the principle is the same, and I may add, the practice better. Whatever other monopolies they may boast, such as those of wealth, power, intelligence, and the like, they have no monopoly of those principles of Colonization. These have been applied before in other Colonies, and are free to be used by any body of men who choose to adopt them in New Zealand or elsewhere. Ay! Mr. Mangles

gence, experience, and interests of those whom that constitution invests with the management of its affairs, such a degree of power, and such means of concentrating, upon deliberately selected objects, its own resources, and the energies of those who are led to associate themselves with it, for the purpose of settling in New Zealand, as have never yet been directed to the great national end of systematic colonization. Its position, and the credit which it has already obtained with the public, enable it to devote to that end not only its own capital, but — as exhibited in the case of Nelson — the funds entrusted to its administration by very numerous parties intending to proceed personally to New Zealand, as well as by another class of persons regarding the purchase of land there as a profitable investment of their money."

I have quoted the whole of the argumentation, that, in the Duke of Wellington's words with a slippery reasoner, there may be "no mistake." Now mark the reasoning here, and let us strip it of its thick foliage of words. It would be impossible for a *temporary* association of *co-equal* individuals bound together by no stronger bond than that of this merely temporary association, (and therefore we may presume not even by any enduring mutual interest), and acknowledging no authority or subordination to do those things with respect to a given settlement in New Zealand, call it Wellington or Nelson, or what you will, and to command the degree of confidence and co-operation of capitalists, which the New Zealand Company, being associated on principles directly the reverse, could do and command. Granted! But does it follow that because this loose association constituted in the worst imaginable manner for carrying any object whatsoever into effect could not compete with an institution regularly organized, incorporated by Royal Charter, and "recognized by Government as a legitimate agent for colonization," in

founding a settlement like Wellington or Nelson, or Auckland, that therefore an association having none of the defects of the one fancied by Mr. Mangles for the sake of contrast, and possessing on the contrary all the essential qualities for good management, and the command of confidence that exist in the New Zealand Company,—one, in short, of the “other similar associations of which Mr. Mangles so often speaks, should be incapable of founding in a particular district under the auspices and superintending control of Government, a settlement upon the same principles of colonization propounded by the New Zealand Company, and rested upon as their ground for public confidence, and the claim to the delegated authority of the Government?

What is there to prevent such an association from selling lands upon the principles I have referred to, and establishing from the proceeds, by paying in if advisable, to the hands of Government a certain portion of the receipts, or by some other method, a fund for immigration, and also a fund for explorations and surveys, bridges and highways, and other necessary works and expenses in the district to be colonized? Extended capital they could not require, as it would be contrary to the first principle of the colonizing system to send out emigrants or to incur any other expenses until the means were realized by the sale of lands. And surely, acting with the sanction and under the immediate control of Government they would enjoy a greater degree of public confidence than the New Zealand Company did at the time of sending out their first expedition, when they were declared by Government to be an illegal Association, and when it was very doubtful whether their settlers would ever obtain the lands which the Company had sold them before they were possessed of them themselves. Why then should not a hundred well constituted associations, selecting each its own district, and de-

ing to it their undivided energies and attention, be able each in its own small sphere to carry out what was expected by the settlers, and required by the Mother Country, and that at least as well as a gigantic company conducting many settlements at the same time, having each separate and distinct interests, and the Company's interest distinct from, if not opposed to them? I see no reason to the contrary, and I should think Mr. Mangles himself would hardly answer in the negative. And as to the transactions to which he alludes with Banks, would he assert that they would be more coy about dealing in proportional limits with such associations as I have described, than they were with the New Zealand Company, previous to its incorporation, and when it was in direct opposition to the Government? I think I may dismiss this part of the question; and assume that the approved system of colonization is not an attribute essentially inherent in the New Zealand Company.

We now come to by far the most important part of all—the consideration of how far the interests of the New Zealand Company accord with those of the colony and of the public.

Mr. Mangles asserts that they are identical, and rests his proof on the circumstance that the Company looks to make its profit from the increased value, which will be given to their reserved lands by the wealth and numbers of those who are settled in its vicinity.

Now this is, I must confess, a new proposition to me, and one that, so far from proving any identity of interests between the Company and its settlers, seems to me still further to prove, if further proof were wanting, that the object of the New Zealand Company is to make the greatest possible amount of profit out of the colony, and is perfectly reckless of the means by which it may obtain this end.

I had always understood that the Company proposed to repay themselves for their trouble in conducting the colonization

of their territories, by retaining a portion of the purchase money paid for the land ; and Mr. Mangles himself shows us, in the sketch he gives us of the plan adopted for the colonization of Nelson, that they have retained 50,000*l.* out of 300,000*l.* for that purpose,—a remuneration which most people would think quite sufficient to repay them for the trouble of selling 200,000 acres of land, and sending out some ten or twelve ship-loads of emigrants ; but Mr. Mangles tells us that this is but a trifling part of their proposed profit !—that they propose reaping a much larger profit by the increased value of their *reserved lands*.

Now I shall proceed to show from Mr. Mangles' own words, that this means of making a profit is in direct contravention of the principles of their own system—that it is one of those very things which it is the object of that system to prevent ; and that it “ operates directly and strongly to deprive all the outlay of the colonists of its due reward.” To make this clear, it is only necessary to quote what Mr. Mangles himself says on the subject.

“ I refer to the plan of colonization, which proposes to insure the essential combination of land, capital, and labour, by selling, instead of giving away—as was commonly done in past times,*—the waste lands belonging to the Crown, and by applying the proceeds of such sale to the carrying out of labourers from Great Britain.

“ But the object of insisting upon the payment of a price for all waste land is not merely to provide a fund for the supply of labour, without which land and capital at the Antipodes are utterly worthless, but to effect two other most important

* “ In some instances the land was not literally given away. In parts of British North America it was sold for a trifle,—too small to effect any of the good objects of a price,—and the petty proceeds were spent upon establishments for managing the Crown lands, or mixed up with the general revenue of the province. In no case was colonization effectually promoted by them.”

ends. The first is to deter capitalists from appropriating, with that short-sighted greediness inherent in human nature, more land than they can cultivate or turn to any good purpose, in the selfish hope that the outlay of others will give value to that which operates directly and strongly to deprive such outlay of its due reward. For this appropriation by individuals of large tracts of wilderness which they are unable or unwilling to reclaim, interposes a barrier between settler and settler, which precludes all useful co-operation, and which will sometimes, doubtless, have the effect of turning the progress of clearing and cultivation from its natural course to a less eligible direction."

Is not this precisely what they are themselves doing with these reserved lands? Have they not the "selfish hope to profit by the outlay of others?" and that not in a trifling degree, but to an extent compared to which 50,000*l.* out of 300,000*l.* is but an insignificant profit. Can Mr. Mangles gravely assert that the agency of the Company is worth this enormous price, or which is the same thing, that an equally good agency cannot be procured at a much less cost to the colony?

But allowing even that their agency were so good as to be worth a remuneration, of which one-sixth of the whole cost price of the land is but an inconsiderable part—and admitting that the interests of the New Zealand Company were identical with that of their settlers at Wellington or Nelson, still it would by no means follow that they were accordant with those of the colony at large—indeed, it would rather prove to the contrary, as, from the force of circumstances and principally through the acts of the New Zealand Company, the interests of the settlements at Auckland, and at Wellington, are diametrically opposed to one another. It would, for instance, be a very great advantage to Wellington and to the Company,

no doubt, if the latter could bring about the removal of the seat of Government from Auckland to it; but such a measure would be most injurious, if not destructive, both to Auckland and the colony at large. Besides, the very fact that Mr. Mangles brings forward of its being the Company's interest to force colonization round their reserved lands, in order to raise them into value, would show that it is their interest to check colonization in those parts where they have no land. Now the bulk of the New Zealand Company's lands being in the most mountainous and inaccessible parts of New Zealand, in the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits, it is obviously their intent to oppose the colonization of the superior parts of the island, such as the Auckland or Waikato districts, where they have little or no land. Mr. Mangles, then proceeding to general conclusions, goes on to say—"These considerations impress me with the conviction that such a body as the New Zealand Company is the best possible instrument for working out the prompt and effectual occupation of a new field of colonization. I have already shown in what consists its superiority over a fortuitous association of individuals seeking to settle in a new country." Thus, at one fell swoop he gets rid, in point of fact, of all sorts of associations, including, of course, those associations which he put so prominently forward in his preface, as being "like the New Zealand Company, and having a common interest with the public," and leaves the chartered institution sole and sovereign mistress of the field.

Having thus disposed of all question of rivalry, he next addresses himself to sweeping the Government from the Company's path to universal sway and masterdom. He says, "it is just as certain that no stipendiary agents of the Government can be equally fitted for such a business as the Company has undertaken. All experience proves that, as a

general principle, interest is a much stronger stimulus to exertion than mere duty." A body of interested individuals works not only more zealously, but more economically, than a public functionary. It combines the knowledge, the invention, and the judgment of many: it is not shackled by embarrassing responsibilities;—it has no responsibilities, indeed, with few exceptions, but those which affect and ought to affect individuals. Its administrators are free, without dread of misconstruction, to hold out any inducement which they may deem expedient, to any person or class of persons whom they may desire to lead to settle in the colony; and, generally, to make any arrangements—at their own judgment, with respect to the relation of the expense to the object—to render their settlements attractive. They can make advances of money for objects of the nature indicated in a foregoing passage, upon calculations of probable future—it may be remote—advantage, which would not justify a public officer in risking public funds, even if absolutely at his own disposal. If such an officer were placed, as he assuredly would be, in subordination to other authorities, there must be hazard of difference of opinion, and a certainty of delay, in every reference for the sanction of expenditure. A Company can raise subscriptions, through the medium of an enhanced price of land, not only to form a general fund to defray the expense of the emigration of labourers, but (as the New Zealand Company has done in the case of Nelson,) for the purposes of religious worship, of education, of encouraging steam-navigation, and the like. This could not be so properly and effectually done, even if it could be done at all, by a public functionary. There can, indeed, be no complete security against jobbing in either case, but any one conversant with the world must know that there is no jobbing like the jobbing of an executive government, when it stoops to

and that it is at least as likely to do
 the reverse to others of a Company. It is obvious, too,
 that the directors of a Company are a check upon each other,
 and that, if they could scarcely expect to profit
 by any act which would subject themselves as share-holders
 to the employment of an incompetent person,
 or by measures directed to narrow
 the interests of the Government. All that
 is wanting, when it causes or connives at the mis-
 administration of colonial affairs, is the loss of a certain
 amount of character in the estimation of the comparatively
 few who care any thing about the matter; and it is
 that this hazard has been frequently incurred for
 the sake of private advantage or patronage."

Notwithstanding that all these advantages, so mag-
 nificently claimed for the New Zealand Company, might
 be equally claimed for any one, or any number of companies
 engaged in the colonization of divers districts
 of the colony, without possessing the dangerously extensive
 powers which have been conceded to the New
 Zealand Company by Lord John Russell, and enable it, even
 if it should throw the Government, instead of being
 under its good influence and lawful control. And if it

be true, as it is all that Mr. Stanger has above urged against an admini-
 stration of this sort, that such an association on the vast scale of the New
 Zealand Company, and so little responsible, practically, for its actions or omis-
 sions. It should be recollected, too, that there is more jobbing in the gross to-
 be apprehended from such a Company, than from the administration and its
 functions. It is notorious that men will not hesitate to do that in their cor-
 porate capacity from which they would, as individuals, shrink with horror:
 so that in any improper transaction, "the loss of a certain amount of character
 in the estimation of the comparatively few who know or care anything about the
 matter," would not have much terror for a company.

be true, as I have before observed, and am inclined to believe it is, that the details of colonization might be better and more economically managed by individuals having a direct interest in carrying them out with the utmost speed and regularity, and on the soundest principles, than these details could be conducted by Government through its salaried functionaries, it by no means follows that the agency should be altogether and unconditionally put into the hands of an institution already too powerful and independent. Yet this is the conclusion at which Mr. Mangles would fain arrive, and here again he calls in the old assumption that the interests of the public and of the Company are identical, and that England, possessing "the elements for peopling New Zealand at a rate much more rapid than has ever yet been attained in colonizing a distant possession," and being deeply interested in so doing, the Company is not simply the best, but the only agent for carrying this great national purpose into effect. He goes on to say, "The public is further secured, in the case of a Company, by the identity of its own interests with those of the body which it employs as an agent of colonization; for the Company cannot realise any great and lasting profit, otherwise than by carrying forward with rapidity and success the work in which the community have so deep a stake. The larger the gain of the Company, the greater the benefits reaped by the public; because the former must necessarily be the effect of the latter, and cannot possibly accrue otherwise. It is the object of England to people New Zealand with her children as quickly and completely as possible: it is the interest of the New Zealand Company to exert itself to the uttermost to effectuate that end."

For these reasons it is clear to Mr. Mangles, that public functionaries, however selected or denominated, cannot be such efficient agents of colonization as a Company such as he

stream of private enterprise; and that it behoves them to hold themselves prudishly aloof from all those who, having a private interest in colonial matters, and having also the power greatly to promote the interests of the public in relation to them, are yet disposed to approach the heads of the department by the front stairs. The morbid fear of committing themselves, or of being over-reached, must also be overcome, and the habitual attitude of repulsion changed. The existing pressure upon the country, and the possibility of relieving it by large measures of colonization, are circumstances for which, in the words of Burke, 'the file affords no precedent;' and they demand a corresponding exercise of spirit and energy by the Colonial Department."

It must be admitted, that it is evident from these passages, Mr. Mangles has discovered a new order of duties for men in office. He is not content with Government's affirming its adhesion to certain doctrines relative to emigration, and certain principles of colonization, (as no doubt will be done by Sir Robert Peel, upon the opening of Parliament,) but he must employ its members in collecting and disseminating information in detail for the benefit of the curious, and oblige them to lend their ears to every interested speculator in colonial matters, and not this alone, but with the knowledge which every day brings, of the atrocious jobbing and swindling, which is going forward in reference to projects for emigrations, they are to abandon the morbid fear of committing themselves, or of being over-reached. And what is the main object proposed to be carried out by this department of primary instruction, in reference to our Colonies and the mode of colonizing them? To promote the interests and establish the agency of the New Zealand Company! In fact that the Government are to make over to the New Zealand Company the whole of their executive and administrative functions, which we have been

taught to believe to be the peculiar duty and province of Government to retain; while they are to take up that which has always been considered out of their duty or power;—to collect minute and local information which it seems peculiarly the business of private parties to do, and which, indeed, is the principal and most onerous part of that detail of colonization which it seems that Government is incapable of carrying on. Mr. Mangles not being yet done with turning the Government to account. "Again (he exclaims) let the Government satisfy itself that the interests of such bodies, as the New Zealand Company are, as I have asserted, identical with those of the public."

Already it has been explained, that Mr. Mangles, while profusely using the words, "other such bodies" and "similar associations," labours to exclude the consideration of all other associations, and to prove that there can be no such thing, and that the New Zealand Company alone can realize the project of colonizing the Island, under the approved system: but he goes on to say "let it also satisfy itself that such associations possess the power, both in respect to the soundness of their plans and to pecuniary means, of rendering substantial service to the country, by effectuating emigration on a scale proportionate to the public exigencies, or, at least, to an extent unattainable by other instrumentality:—and then let it make a large and confiding use of their agency. The power of that agency would be increased a hundred-fold by the confidence which the declared countenance and co-operation of the Government would create. Let the most searching investigations precede the conferring of gifts, which, though they would cost the public nothing, might possibly be most mischievously abused. Yet what agency powerful for good is not capable of being perverted to evil; and what wisdom is there, in the moral, more than in the physical, world, in refusing to avail

ourselves, with due precautions, of any combination of forces that may promise to be most readily and extensively effectual for compassing great national ends? If it be found that those ends may most speedily and certainly be secured by rendering it the interest of private associations to further them, always under the control of the Executive Government,—in the name of common sense, let that course have a fair trial. If it be objected,—as, doubtless, would be the case,—that the countenance and co-operation of the Government would enable the New Zealand Company, or any other such body, to realize very large profits; let it be remembered that such profits can only result from the successful issue of operations which must confer thousand-fold advantages upon the public; that they are, in fact, the price paid for the agency of the Company; and that, by the hypothesis, better agency, or equally good agency, at less cost, cannot be obtained. If no better means can be devised for effectuating the desired end it would be mere childishness on the part of the Government, to refuse to avail itself of the agency of the New Zealand Company, solely because the Company will derive great benefit from being employed by the Government.”

I have made this long quotation from Mr. Mangles' work, that he may have the benefit of all his qualifications of the propositions he puts forth, and shall content myself with observing that as to “the searching investigations,” the writer every where throughout his pamphlet assumes that from the statements he makes and the circumstances he relates, the advisability of conferring the gifts he seeks on the New Zealand Company, is already settled beyond dispute; and as to what he observes with reference to the control of the executive, it appears from the whole course of the Company's conduct in relation with the Government and its officers—that

its object has been to evade if it may be, and as far as it
 could, resist the control of the Executive. In truth, and as
 it is, the Company, under the extensive powers conferred in
 its charter, has established a sort of imperium in rebus in
 New Zealand, and I would only add to these remarks that,
 in the last passage of the peroration of the discourse is
 recommendation of the Government's discharging its duties
 vicariously in the person of the New Zealand Company.
 Mr. Manley throws off all disguise, by dismissing the words
 of surplage, and proclaims that the gist of his reasoning is,
 that the Government should avail itself of the agency of the
 New Zealand Company, or some, and of that association
alone.

I trust that it is now sufficiently plain, that the employment
 in New Zealand of the system of colonization, which I have
 described, is not dependent upon the New Zealand Company.
 That it does not follow, that because this Association has been
 established by royal charter, "for the settlement and im-
 provement of the colony of New Zealand and its depen-
 dencies," and has large means and powers, it is therefore
 impossible, another Company properly constructed might
 not improve and settle any given district of that colony—
 and so on for any number of distinct Companies and parti-
 cular districts—that it is not a necessary consequence from
 the circumstance of its being inadvisable for Government to
 conduct the details of Colonization, that the exclusive agency
 of the New Zealand Company should be adopted for the
purposes of Colonization—all the actual and direct executive
 functions of the Government, in respect to the management
 of Colonization delegated to it, and the duties of the admini-
 stration at home restricted to giving knowledge and
 confidence to those classes of persons whose emigration

might be desirable. If I be correct in this my supposition, I am now at liberty to enter freely into the inquiry, whether in point of fact the interests of the settlers in the district of Port Nicholson, (which we know from Mr. Mangles, and admit to be identical with those of the New Zealand Company,) are also identical with those of the settlers in the colony generally, and with the British public, whose interest, we know from the same authority, is to have New Zealand peopled as speedily and as completely as possible. And in doing so, we shall have to examine, "the wisdom and discretion" exhibited by the Company, in their choice of a district for their chief town and settlement, and the course of conduct they have seen fit to pursue towards the Government and the colonists.

The Directors of the New Zealand Company, sitting most probably in council at their office, in the Adelphi, with a map spread wide before them, determined upon the site of a town, which they destined to be the capital of the three islands. They considered it an object to get as near as possible to the centre of the territories before them; and the most eligible position which presented itself to their eyes, seemed to be the Northern shore of Cook's Straits, and the Southern extremity of the island lately styled New Ulster. Now, in the first place, this notion of erecting a capital for the three islands, when we consider the long narrow form of the two large ones, and the many hundred miles which intervene betwixt the Northern extremity of New Ulster and the Southern extremity of New Leinster, was no better than chimerical.

It is perfectly clear and indubitable, that whenever the three islands shall have been sufficiently colonized, each

island must have its own capital at its own chief and most commodious port and most advantageous outlet for the produce of the country. And in the meanwhile, that is to say, until the two southern islands shall be colonized, no object is to be gained by taking up a position on the proximate extremity of the northern island, which is the only one inhabited, and the only one likely to be inhabited for very many years, so the others are excessively mountainous and have no rivers. Therefore, no advantage whatsoever was to be gained with reference to the colony generally, consisting of the three islands, by fixing upon this central situation. This, however, is a negative evil or rather the loss of an imaginary good. The positive evils of the plan are more intelligible and more important. It will not be denied that, with the exception of a few places so peculiarly situated as to become depôts or resting places for goods *in transitu*, like Malta for instance, the trade of a place must depend upon the extent and capabilities of the district of which it is the centre of trade or outlet. This it is that gives their importance to Sydney, to Calcutta, and even to London. On this datum may be calculated to a nicety the value of every mercantile position. What then is the value of Port Nicholson measured by this test? Its own district, consisting of the valley of the Hutt and a few other small valleys, is hardly of extent enough to supply the town itself with necessaries, much less to afford an export trade; and even these are so densely covered with timber of valueless descriptions, that it is doubtful if they will pay the clearing. And the least acquaintance with the country is sufficient to put any idea of internal communication across the steep and lofty mountains, with which it is closely hemmed in, quite out of the question. Upon the East coast again, for 150 miles to the northward, there are no harbours, and the narrow belts of fertile land which are found at intervals along the coast, have no communication by

land either with one another or with Port Nicholas. Along the shores of Cook's Straits, as far as Wanganui, there is no extent of available land, so that on neither side can the colony extend itself. From the mountainous nature of the country, land carriage will be difficult, and interior water communication there is none. The Hutt, though laid down in some of the recent maps as a large river, and talked of by the Company as such, is but a streamlet—across which I have waded at its mouth, and have found it impossible to ascend it further than seven or eight miles in the lightest boat, even with frequent portages. It is true, that the Company has some excellent land for agriculture at Taranaki; but that is 100 miles away from Wellington. The notion of making a road* to it along the coast is, if physically possible upon the principle that with gold and iron an engineer can do any thing, certainly impossible morally, and is absurd to contemplate; and, whether by sea or land, the produce of Taranaki might be transmitted with infinitely more ease to the northern ports of the island than to Port Nicholson. The town of Wellington, then, and its adjoining territory, must depend altogether upon the sea for its communication with the rest of the island: and moreover, when its population has increased to any considerable extent, it must look to the sea also in great part for its necessary supply of provisions. Now, unfortunately, in the whole northern island, there is not a good port less readily accessible from any point of the whole colony than Port Nicholson, the harbour of the would-be capital. It is always blowing through Cook's Straits from the south-east or the north-west, and vessels are constantly delayed for several days together before they can make or leave Port Nicholson. Here, then,

* A so-called road has indeed been made from Wellington to Wanganui, but five-sixths of this is the *sea-beach*.

other servants of the Company, who was charged to select the seat of the intended settlement, to purchase lands there from the natives, and to make arrangements for the reception of a large body of settlers. The second preliminary vessel, the *Cuba*, conveyed the surveying staff of the Company, with a number of labourers. Before any intelligence was received from Colonel Wakefield, nine large emigrant ships, besides store-ships, sailed from England, with orders to touch at Port Hardy, in D'Urville's Island, for directions, which it was expected that Colonel Wakefield would convey thither, for proceeding to their ultimate destination. This was a bold proceeding on the part of the Company, and still more so on that of the emigrants. It was attended, however, with complete success. The five ships sailed in September, reached Port Hardy, and were directed to Port Nicholson early in 1840.

* * * * *

"Our reason for not immediately putting up the frame-houses which we had brought with us from England will be easily explained. The passage of the *Cuba* with the surveyors, had been most tedious, extending to 175 days; so that on the arrival of the emigrant ships, the survey of the site of the intended town had scarcely begun. Having to wait for our land until this survey should be completed, we were naturally unwilling to build up houses which must have been taken down again for removal after our land had been assigned to us. This delay in the survey was deemed a misfortune at the time, but turned out of great benefit to the settlers. While the survey was in progress, and during our residence in the neighbourhood as squatters waiting for land, it became the opinion of a great majority of the emigrants, that the shore of Lambton Bay, at the other extremity of Port Nicholson, was in all respects far preferable to the banks of the river Hutt, as the site of a commercial town. The Company's principal

agent, therefore, determined that the town should be on the shore of Landford Bay, and the surveyors were removed accordingly. This change has obtained the unanimous and cordial approval of the settlers of every class."

Such were the circumstances under which Port Nicholson was chosen, and in the history of colonization they are, perhaps, unparalleled. I have touched upon some of the general considerations under which the settlement at Port Nicholson was made. They are obviously of such a nature as to amount to a general invitation to the site of a capital, if any place having a harbour and general disadvantages could be discovered in New Zealand. I presume it will be admitted that the chief requisites in the choice of a colony, such as New Zealand, are, in general, under the following heads:—

1. The place should be healthy and safe in all winds.
2. The place should be the outlet to the sea in the shortest and the most direct line of agricultural and other produce.

3. The place should be a facility of speedy communication with the islands, but especially of the mother country.

4. The place should be good water—a good soil—a fertile soil, capable of being suited to the production of the necessaries of life, and the staple productions of the colony.

As the place is on the coast of the northern island, and the two great disadvantages are remediable disadvantages, the place is Port Nicholson, and has more of the advantages than the other place of Wellington to which it is compared. It is, therefore, to be concluded, that the place is the best for the Government of New Zealand, and that it is the best for the Government of New Zealand, and that it is the best for the Government of New Zealand.

liberate examination in the island, and aided by the report of his principal officer who visited all the principal localities—not by a contemplation of the map of it. A town named Auckland, (or perhaps I should give it a higher title, as it is to be the residence of a Bishop) is in the course of erection. Let us, with reference to requisites and disadvantages, contrast it with Wellington. The New Zealand Company claim the superiority for the latter, and have lost no opportunity, directly or indirectly to decry Auckland and to impute unworthy motives to the Governor, and all those who are disposed to think he has used a sound discretion. We will deliberately enter into the whole case.

1. *As to Port.*

Auckland is situated on an isthmus of land about two miles broad, having on the east side the bay of Waitemata, one of the best harbours in New Zealand, and on the west side the bay of Manakou, which is likewise a very good harbour. It has thus the extraordinary and uncommon advantage of having two ports communicating with opposite coasts. Vessels of the largest size can enter either harbour, and lie in perfect safety.

The entrance of the Waitemata being perfectly sheltered by the islands in the Frith of the Thames, ships can enter or leave the port with any wind.

The same cannot be altogether said of Manakou, as vessels could not get in with a south-westerly wind, which, however, rarely blows in this part of the island. In every other respect the harbour of Manakou is excellent, and is exactly opposite, in a straight line, to Sydney.

The harbour of Port Nicholson, on the other hand, is very fine, unquestionably, when once a ship is inside it; though

even then much inconvenience is felt in it from the violence of the wind frequently preventing communication with the shore, and the size of the bay being so very great, that room is afforded for a swell to rise, which would prevent a ship or boat from lying at a wharf; but albeit good in itself, it is extremely difficult of access, owing to the violent winds that are always making directly through Cook's Straits from the south-east to the north-west, which are the constant alternate winds in Cook's Straits, and from this cause vessels are delayed several days before they make or leave that port. I do not by any means assert that there is danger in this, but merely such delay as is a serious drawback to shipping generally, when comparing the position of Port Nicholson with Auckland, especially with reference to coasting voyages.

2. *As to Communication with Agricultural Districts.*

Auckland is placed to receive the agricultural produce of the extensive and fertile districts to the south of it by means of the great rivers which diverge from this point.

On the south-east it has the valleys of the Thames and Paiko, which are admitted to be the finest and largest agricultural districts in the island, and capable of growing every kind of colonial produce.

Also on the south, the bay of Manakou, and a portage *under a mile in length*, connect Auckland with the great river Waikato, and the whole produce of the districts on both sides of that river extending up to the lake Toupou, and communicating with the districts of fine agricultural land surrounding that lake.

The Waikato river runs into the sea to the south of Manakou Bay, but the bar at the mouth of that river is impassable except for very small vessels. The Waikato is 140 miles in

length, and can be navigated by a steamer to within a few miles of Lake Toupou. To join Manakou Bay with the Waikato by a canal will always be easy of accomplishment, and would be a work of trifling expence, as the ground is flat and alluvial.

The lands on these agricultural districts are clear and ready for the plough, and can be brought into cultivation at a slight expence, and promise to be most fertile.

Port Nicholson is singularly defective in reference to its communication with agricultural districts. It has no river. The Hutt is called a river, but is only a streamlet, and not navigable, nor has it any available agricultural land in its neighbourhood, except the valley of the Hutt. The district of Taranaki, which also belongs to the New Zealand Company, is a fine agricultural district, but it is distant upwards of 100 miles from Port Nicholson, and is easier of approach from Auckland by means of the river Waikato and lake Toupou, and river Wanganui, than from Port Nicholson.

A vessel, too, from the roadstead at Taranaki, would run into Auckland in a day and a half, or two days; while it might take a week or ten days to make Port Nicholson.

3. *Accessibility of the proposed Capital.*

We will consider this under two heads, after first remarking that Auckland is in the centre, Port Nicholson at the extremity, of the northern island. First; Coast—Accessibility. Secondly; Internal Communication.

(1) *As to Auckland's Coast — Accessibility.* — Northward by the sea, to the east, Auckland is in close communication with all the well-known valuable timber harbours of Kaihow, Waugadudu, Tutukaka, Wangaree, &c., and with various important agricultural districts which extend into

or Port Nicholson, with it; but it is quite certain that Port Nicholson is more accessible to Banks' Peninsula, and all parts of the east coast of the southern islands, while in consequence of the strong winds always blowing in Cook's Straits, Auckland is more accessible than Port Nicholson to all parts of the west coast of the south island.

4. *Climate &c.*

The position of Auckland cannot be surpassed by any in the island for excellence of climate, wholesome air, and good water. And the climate is peculiarly suitable for the growth of flax and wheat. These articles and Kowdie timber will form the staple commodities of the colony, the districts alone furnishing this celebrated timber for masts and spars, of which Auckland is the centre. Flax and wheat will be obtainable, no doubt, from the small agricultural districts in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson; but not in quantities approaching probably to one-hundredth part of that which will and must make Auckland the port of shipment to Australia, the East Indies, and Great Britain. The violent winds almost daily blowing at Port Nicholson must necessarily make agricultural operations, especially in the growing of wheat, uncertain, and this is an injurious circumstance in respect to the climate of Port Nicholson, not existing at Auckland. That violent winds are painfully prevalent at Port Nicholson is an undoubted fact, and all parties returning from it have certified to their strength being such, that it is unsafe to build houses of more than one story high.

If then I have stated the case fairly, as I most conscientiously believe I have done, the balance of advantages is not alone decidedly in favour of Auckland, but it moreover possesses that capacity of enlargement, and all those elements

of future greatness, which at Port Nicholson are so deplorably wanting. That I have stated facts may, for the greater part of what I have urged be easily ascertained by any intelligent person with a map before him, the ordinary degree of general information and reasoning power, and some share of particular information, with respect to the colony, derived from untainted sources. But some of the matters I have alleged as fact are disputed, such as the character of the river Hutt,—of the land in its neighbourhood,—the capabilities of the Thames, and of the plain through which it flows, and some few other things of the like nature. Mr. Mangles, without being obliged to imperil his own veracity, finds all the assertions for and against, it would be the interest of the Company to put forth, ready supplied to his hand by an accommodating gentleman, of the name of Bidwill, who, in consequence of paying a visit to Port Nicholson, has added some pages to a work he had in preparation, which do not harmonize very well with its previous contents.

It is unnecessary for me to express my opinion of the trustworthiness of a writer, who, however exalted in his eyes may be the rank of the settlers at Port Nicholson*—however gratified he may be by their hospitality—however charmed with their society, and however disinterestedly and chivalrously pledged to support their cause with tongue and pen, can yet deliberately bring himself to designate the Hutt as a navigable river, —to talk of a paltry streamlet, of seven or eight miles length,

* “ I am at this moment residing with Mr. Molesworth, brother of Sir William Molesworth, Bart. ; and among a host of respectable settlers, who give a high moral tone to society here, I may name Petre, son of Lord Petre ; — Sinclair, brother or son of Sir George Sinclair ; Dorset, Wakefield, Hopper, Partridge, Bruce, Scot, Hobson, Mantell, Hunter, Majoribanks, Biggs, Jones, Lloyd, &c. &c.”

as being equally useful with the Thames. I will however cite from his own book, what he has said in the previous part of his work, about the plain of the Thames, and let his admirers reconcile his different statements and opinions.

Mr. Mangles, quotes him in one place; I propose to quote him in another. Shakspere makes one of his characters talk of dividing himself and going to buffets. As Mr. Bidwill is held up as of the highest authority, let us see if we cannot divide him and set him to buffets. Mr. Mangles shall provide quotation, in one column; I will set mine face to face with it in another column.

The deficiency of Mr. Jameson's information, arising from his not having visited the country south of the river Thames, was supplied by Mr. Bidwill's "Rambles in New Zealand." That gentleman, after examining the northern and central (Northland and the northern island, in 1838,—penetrating to the Great Lake Taupo, returned from Sydney last year, and resided for some time at Port Nicholson and its neighbourhood. After describing the great plain watered by the Waikato or Thames, Mr. Bidwill proceeds:—

There is no doubt, in time this will be a fine country, but I cannot help thinking the land situated near Nicholson offers far greater advantages. It is true, round the valley of the Waikato, the land will cost labour to prepare it for cultivation, but it is undoubtedly very rich, and will make good and speedy re- turn for the outlay upon it. New

"Saturday March 31st. Continued our descent of the mountain and entered the great plain of the Thames, or "Waikato," the most splendid piece of country I have met with for the purposes of colonization. This plain is I should think, about one hundred miles long, and varying from twenty to thirty broad; it runs north and south, being bound

* "Rambles in New Zealand, by John Carne Bidwill (late of Exeter, New South Wales)."—London: published by W. S. Orr and Comp

*the land on the Waiho, which will not cost much money to work, is not better, perhaps not so good, as the bare hills to the south of Port Nicholson, and the swampy lands of the Waiho will cost almost as much to drain as heavy timbered land to clear; and it is well known, bogs do not immediately become useful land, but that several years must elapse after they are reclaimed, before they will bear crops of grain.**

“The Waiho, although a much larger river, is not more useful than the Hutt, as it will only serve for the downward conveyance of produce, for which purpose the latter is equally capable; and in Port Nicholson the farmer has the advantage of his port-town close to him, whilst on the Thames he is from thirty to forty miles from it, and consequently from his market. The almost total absence of timber on the Thames will also be a serious difficulty to the farmer, as he will, in most instances, be obliged to bring his wood for all purposes from a distance, besides buying, instead of cutting it upon his own land.

on the east by the perpendicular wall of the Arrohow, and on the west by the mountains on the west coast. The river Thames runs through it, and is deep enough to be navigated by track boats or light steamers, for a great distance. At the place I crossed, it was about five feet deep and one hundred yards wide; the stream is however so strong, in spite of the apparently perfect level of the country, that it would be useless to attempt ascending it by oars, or sails. The whole plain, with very little exception, is clear of wood; it is abundantly watered, and would, I think, be one of the most splendid situations for a Colony, that could be found in the whole world. It must not be considered that this plain belongs to the river, for it is evident that such is not the case, as it is impossible so insignificant a river could have scooped out such a valley. The river, it is true, runs through it, but it is also formed in it by the innumerable streams which run off its mountainous barriers on both sides; it in fact takes its rise in the plain, and conse-

* Fully one half of the plain of the Waiho is an impassable bog covered with high rushes, the largest remaining portion poor fern land; and there is a considerable portion of wet stony land covered with rank vegetation without bushes

[illegible]

Mr. Jameson was not at Port Nicholson, but he publishes a letter from one of the settlers there, which of course Mr. Mangles considered entitled to implicit credit, both in respect of fact and opinion. If this is to have weight, because it is inserted in the author's volume (and a highly valuable book it is) surely, his own, perfectly disinterested testimony, with reference to the plain of the Thames, must be received with respect, and allowed to settle the dispute between the Mr. Bidwill of March 1839, and the Mr. Bidwill of August, 1840.

"In the lower part of the great plain of the Thames, the soil is too little elevated above the mean level of the tides, and being of a clayey character, is in many parts swampy. But this defect gradually diminishes as we advance up the valley, and at the distance of thirty miles from the mouth of the river, the plain becomes dry, and in many places so unincumbered, as to be absolutely ready for the plough. The composition of the soil, throughout this extensive plain, bears an affinity to the geological constitution of the elevated mountain ranges on either side, which consist of the unstratified classes of rocks that predominate throughout New Zealand, namely, greywacke, basalt, trap, and pumice. The decomposition of such rocks furnishes a clayey soil, extremely fertile, if we may judge from the abundant and various vegetation which covers every part of the valley. A deciduous vegetation would have caused the formation of a deep bed of mould, resembling the soil of a Canadian forest; but the vegetable kingdom in New Zealand being evergreen, the earth has not been enriched to the same degree by the annual decay of leaves, and consequently the superficial stratum seldom exceeds a foot in thickness. No inference against its productive character can, however, be deduced from this circumstance, since it is manifest that a land which nourishes the

hoped that the New Zealand Company will found one of its settlements in this district. Having completed my object, I returned to Coromandel; from whence I proceeded to the Banks of the Wiete, on the opposite side of the estuary of the Thames, which derives some importance from its propinquity to the township of Auckland, on the banks of the inlet of Waitemata."

This is disinterested evidence. On the other hand I find none which speaks in favour of Port Nicholson. It is well for Mr. Petre, who never visited any part of the island but the Company's Settlements, and for other gentlemen who have like him irrevocably embarked their money, to put a good face upon the matter, and believe all the Company tell them, and repeat it over and over again; but it can have but little weight in the controversy. I think it is plain, Captain Cook saw, with a prophetic eye, when he declared the district of the Thames was the site for a capital of New Zealand.

I conclude then, that Captain Hobson has decided not only wisely, but that his decision will be held irrevocable in favour of Auckland, and against Port Nicholson. The company at home, indeed, may flatter others, perhaps themselves, with the hope that they have sufficient power to efface the decree, but it is a vain hope;—the present Government is strong and acts upon a system, not at random. It can neither be frightened nor cajoled. The case against the Company's settlement is so strong, and any decision in its favour would be so manifestly founded on unjust principles and suggested by impure motives, that the people of England once made acquainted with the facts, never would tolerate it, even if a Government weak and base enough to let themselves be made the tool of the Company could be again found.

If this be so, what are the prospects of the settlement at Port Nicholson? Mr. Petre, to whose narrative I have been

already indebted for some facts as to the wisdom and discretion of the Company, shall inform us. He says, in concluding, "*I now foresee no check to the prosperity of the colony, (meaning, as in the ordinary phraseology of the Company and its supporters, the settlement at Port Nicholson,) except the possibility (!) of Governor Hobson's perseverance in a policy with respect to the seat of Government which admits of no justification. Trusting that this policy has been ere now abandoned, I will only add to the statements in Colonel Wakefield's letter which I brought to England, that if unhappily the Governor should continue to reside, with all the heads of departments, at nearly the greatest possible distance from the centre of the islands, and the seat of the great majority of the British population; and by means of the public money, to draw off emigrants, conveyed to Cook's Straits, at the expense of purchasers of land in the Company's settlement, the colonization of New Zealand (meaning the Company's settlement in New Zealand) must be brought to a speedy and disastrous end.*" Mr. Bright, a recent writer* on citing this passage observes, very quaintly, — "The Governor having gone to great expense in erecting the Government house, and other buildings, barracks, &c. at Auckland, it is not quite just to expect that he will dip his hands again, and so soon, into the public purse for another remove. The reasons stated by Mr. Petre are not so strong as he feels them, and are besides met by others, (such as the Government being in the neighbourhood of long established trade,) equally demanding his Excellency's consideration. On what ground is the distress at home to be neglected, to throw money into the Pacific?" Mr. Bright, conscious

* "Handbook for Emigrants and others; being a History of New Zealand, its state and prospects previous and subsequent to the proclamation of her Majesty's authority, &c. &c., by John Bright, M.R.C.S." London, 1841.

of the difficulty of answering this question, which at once exposes the preposterousness of the expectations cherished by Mr. Petre and his friends, follows it up by asking,—“THEREFORE ARE WE NOW TO PRESUME, AS THE GOVERNOR IS DECIDELY STATIONARY AT THE THAMES, THAT THERE IS AN END TO THE COMPANY’S SETTLEMENTS ?”*—We shall see. Certain it is, at all events, that the interests of Auckland and the Company’s settlements, are diametrically opposite; and that they see in its success the certainty of their own failure. Now, if the arguments I have myself advanced, and those I have cited from the works of others, be of the least avail, they tend to shew, that from the situation and circumstances of Auckland, the interests of that port and outlet are inseparably commingled with the interests of all parts of the island, that by any physical possibility can have interests in common, and are therefore, one and the same with the interests of the public. On the other hand, the interests of Port Nicholson, far from being wide and general, like those of Auckland, embracing those of every productive district, and every industrious individual in the colony, are only the interests of those who have invested their money irrecoverably in and on the land—that is to say, the Directors and Proprietors of the Company and the established settlers. The unfettered emigrants conveyed to Cook’s Strait by the immigration, move off to other places, and it cannot be helped, as (however desirable it might be to the settlers like Mr. Petre) these British subjects cannot be sent out as villeins appendant to the Company’s settlements. The settlers have already a great stake at hazard. Col. Wakefield, in his last dispatch, states, “Already, and before the agricultural resources of the settlement have had

* Bright, p. 168.

time for development, the shipping belonging to Port Nicholson has become worth 5000*l.*; and this is almost exclusively employed in bringing pigs and potatoes, in return for blankets, guns, and other articles sought after by the natives. "The houses erected in Wellington have cost at least 18,000*l.*; and the merchandise and provisions now in the place may be safely put down at not less than 200,000*l.* In every direction large stores and private buildings are springing up. Within a few weeks, measures have been in progress for the erection of a large steam saw and flour mill, brought from England by Messrs, Hopper, Petre, and Molesworth. A company is formed with sufficient capital to carry on the business; and ships, not full of flax and oil, will be supplied with sawn timber for home consumption, and for the neighbouring colonies of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land."

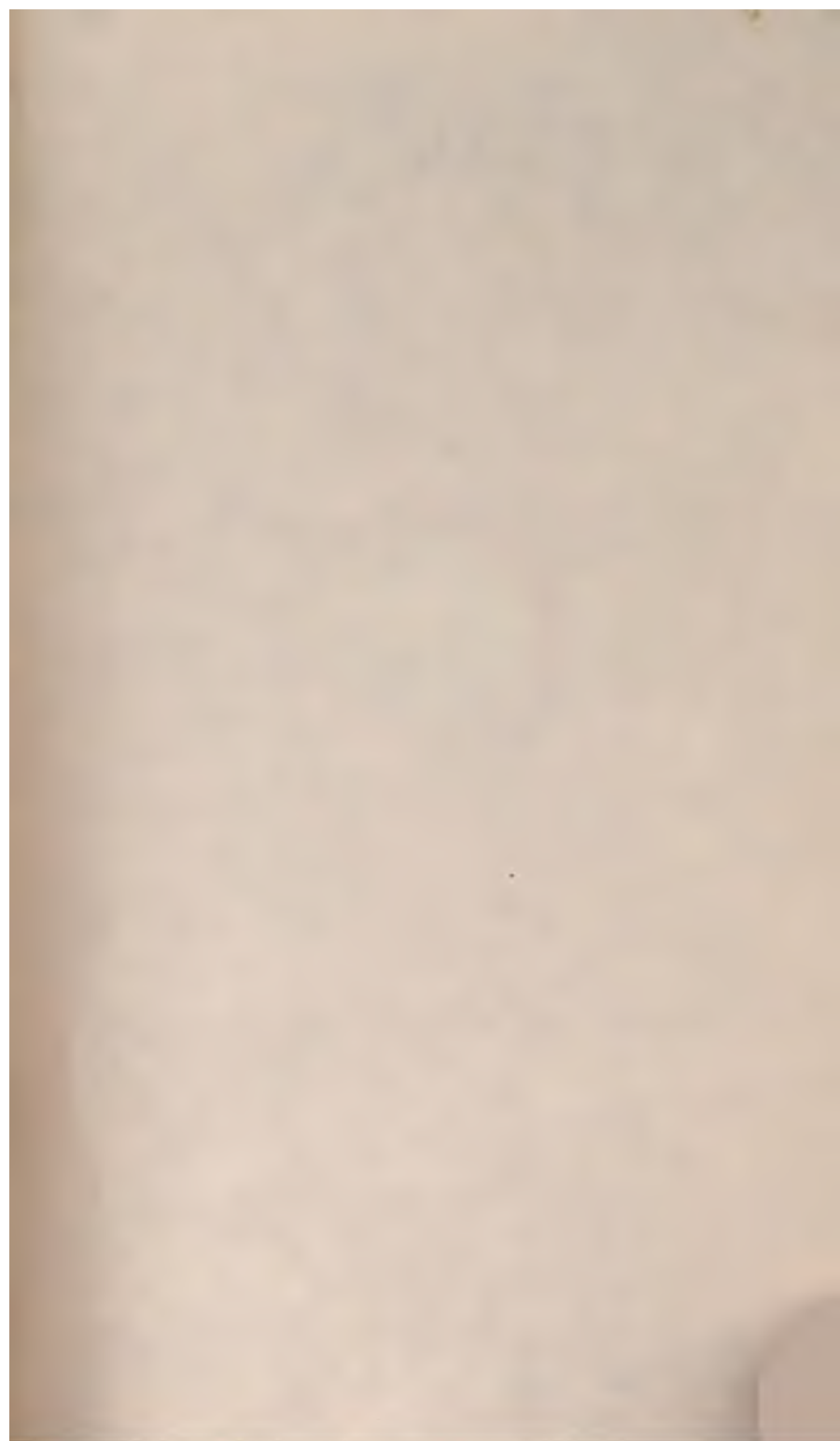
In order not alone that the value of the land and property the settlers have purchased may encrease, but that it may not be actually lost, it is their interest to draw to their district the full tide of emigration; and Auckland or any other settlement that diverts from it that tide at this state of their existence is (from their peculiar position and circumstances so practically isolate, and so adverse) not simply a rival, but an enemy. They feel with the Roman general in the civil war, who declared that all who were not with him were against him, and upon this principle they have naturally enough acted by every means in their power, at home and abroad. Must we not then come to the conclusion we have been long seeking *that the interests of the settlers and of the public are not identical.* Now the interests of the Company are, as we have all along agreed, identical with theirs. The Company have

also invested their money: they are anxious not to lose it. They can never realize large profits by the sale of their reserved lands and their other means of income, unless the community in their settlement increase and multiply, and flourish. Their obvious course then is, by the use of every power confided to them by the British Government, to force a prosperity, or at least a specious appearance of prosperity, by directing the flow of emigration fraught with capital and labour into their settlement. Treated thus it is a sort of mine to them which they are working with the capital and labour of others. Obviously then it is their interest to keep this mine open—and to prevent the opening of any other mine by other parties, or if this cannot be avoided, at all events to get it shut as soon as possible and upon any pretext, no matter how rich or productive or beneficial to the public it may chance to be. Upon similar grounds it is evident that it would be adverse to their interests to open any new mine of their own, whose superior excellence might compel them to shut up that now at work, and thereby sacrifice all the capital that had been invested in it, and all the profits that are sure to accrue if it can be carried on for a sufficient time without competition. Otherwise to speak, until their great and difficult scheme at Port Nicholson be worked out—difficult and embarrassing, even with all the power they can bring to bear upon it—their interest is to oppose every other scheme (and the better it is, the stronger the reason why it should be opposed), and not to give life to any enterprise of their own which is not subsidiary to their first grand object. They began in the recklessness of ignorance and presumption; they are proceeding in a course worthy of such commencement. I maintain, that it is quite evident that their interests and the interests of the unfortunate

settlers, who confided in their wisdom and discretion, are not identical with the interests of the public; and that the worst agency which could possibly be employed for the speedy and complete colonization of New Zealand, would be that of the New Zealand Company. Fervent, therefore, is my hope, and, when I consider the character of the present administration, strong is my trust, that no farther powers or even confidence will be extended to this Company, and that no faith will be placed in their professions. The speedy and complete colonization of New Zealand upon wise principles is a noble enterprise, and one well worthy the personal care and superintendence of the enlightened Government of a mighty empire. If it be adviseable, as I am convinced it would be, to commit the details of colonization for the re-sale of land and the like, to associations whose operations should be confined to particular districts, and who might to any required number be engaged in forwarding the work of settlement, at the same time, let the Government hold these bodies strictly under their superintendence and control, reserving jealously to themselves plenary authority and discretion in all matters which involve a principle. To act upon this plan, would be but to pursue a course which every day's experience proves to be advantageous in the course of business. The merchant covets not the profits of the retailer too. He is satisfied to let him gain, in the conviction that upon the whole he realizes a better price for his goods than if he sold them on his own account by the hands of hired servants. The policy of the merchant, too, is to sell to many retailers, who are all simultaneously engaged in disposing of his goods at divers places. He does not give the monopoly of his sales to one great com-

pany of factors—call it New Zealand Company incorporated by Royal Charter, or what you will. Such, I apprehend, is the policy which might be most advantageously pursued by the Government in carrying on the business of colonization.







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